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SPEECH OF HON. F. W. KELLOGG,  
OF MICHIGAN,  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
FEBRUARY 23, 1861.

The House having under consideration the  
report from the select committee of thirty-  
three—

Mr. KELLOGG said—

Mr. SPEAKER: Less than a century ago, thirteen  
feeble colonies on this newly-discovered continent,  
inspired by a love of liberty and a desire for self-  
government, united for the purpose of achieving  
their independence, and their success is one of  
the facts of history. For the purpose of estab-  
lishing justice, and securing the blessings of  
liberty to themselves and their descendants, that  
union was afterwards made more perfect and per-  
petual under a Constitution framed by a body of  
men whose wisdom and patriotism made them  
the admiration of the world. In this brief period  
the three millions of people have increased to  
more than thirty millions, and the United States  
has become a first-class Power among the na-  
tions of the earth. During its existence we  
have had some of those difficulties which all  
Governments must encounter, but none of them  
have ever caused serious alarm. The rebellion  
in Massachusetts, and a similar one in Penn-  
sylvania, although formidable in their character,  
were, by the wisdom and firmness of the Presi-  
dent, promptly suppressed. During the last war  
with Great Britain, the old Federal party—then  
in a hopeless minority—held the memorable  
Hartford Convention, in which they were charged  
with plotting the destruction of the Government.  
This charge has been persistently denied, but  
every man who participated in the proceedings of  
the Convention was politically ruined. They  
were marked by the people as Cain was by his  
Maker, that all men might shun them thereafter  
and forevermore. The restless spirits of these  
present day might study the history of these  
men to advantage, and learn how severe a pen-  
alty must be paid for being so much as suspected  
of treason.

In 1832 the State of South Carolina threatened  
rebellion, but the firmness of President Jackson  
soon put an end to all their treasonable schemes.  
The result was, that the confidence of the people  
in the stability of their Government increased  
with each succeeding year, until they believed  
that it was equal to any emergency. But this  
feeling of security has suddenly given way to an  
alarm that is almost universal, and not without  
reason. At this moment several States are in  
armed rebellion against the National Govern-  
ment, and have seized all the forts, arsenals,  
and other property belonging to the United  
States, within their borders, of which they  
could obtain possession by either fraud or violence.  
The immediate cause of these high-  
handed and treasonable acts was the defeat of  
the Democratic party in the late elections, but  
the chief conspirators admit that they intended  
to destroy the Union—that they have kept this  
object steadily in view for many years, and that  
the triumph of the Republican party has enabled  
them to unite the South, and accomplish their  
purpose at this time. It was through the influ-  
ence of these men that the Convention was se-  
lected as the place for holding the last National Demo-  
cratic Convention, and when that Convention  
assembled, it was through their agency that it  
was broken up, its disruption foreshadowing the  
intended disruption of the American Union. By  
this means the result of the Presidential elec-  
tion was placed beyond a doubt, and as their  
friends and guilty associates were at the head  
of almost every department of the Government,  
they were enabled to use its power in making  
complete success of their treasonable schemes.

Mr. Speaker, I do not hold the whole Demo-  
cratic party responsible for this, for I know that  
an overwhelming majority of them are loyal and  
patriotic citizens, who love the Union, and  
would willingly pour out their blood in its  
defense. Everywhere, at the North and South,  
during the late political campaign, they pointed  
out the disunionists in their party, and de-  
nounced them, and the sequel proves how well  
they understood their character and designs.  
Henceforth, therefore, let us gracefully sub-  
mit to the will of the people, as expressed  
through the ballot-box, but at this time a ma-  
jority of the people in the Southern States seem  
to imagine themselves justified in resisting it.  
Those who are in favor of the Union, profess to  
believe their institutions are in danger, and de-  
mand certain amendments to the Constitution,  
as the price of their allegiance, which will  
change its character entirely and forever.  
Though not engaged in the treasonable attempt  
to subvert the Government, they assist us by  
not interfering with those who are, lest we  
exasperate them, and bring on the conflict,  
which is sure to come at last, unless we will  
grant whatever they demand.

There are some noble exceptions of men who  
are willing to do justice to the Republican party.  
I have before me an admirable letter written to  
some members of the Legislature of Arkansas  
by the Hon. ALBERT RUST, November 12th, 1860,  
from which I make an extract. Mr. Rust says:  
"I believe that from the adoption of the Fed-  
eral Constitution to the present moment, the  
Southern people have never had less cause to  
complain of our Government, and threaten its overthrow,  
than they now have. If the most experienced and  
enlightened statesmen of other countries could  
witness the universal prosperity enjoyed by the  
people of our own, and at the same time the  
fear—if not the conviction, which is almost  
universal—that the Government to which we  
owe so much of it is on the brink of disruption,  
they would be driven to the conclusion that a general  
lunacy had seized upon the minds of the American  
people."

The admission that the South never had less  
cause to complain is the admission of a fact  
which no one can well dispute, and the pros-  
perity of the people everywhere, to which he  
alludes in such forcible terms, was indeed won-  
derful, and without a parallel in any other  
country. Industry was richly rewarded, and  
myriads of the poor were dreamed only of a  
continuance of his abundance.

Again, Mr. Rust says:  
"I recognized the election of Mr. Lincoln by  
less, perhaps, than one-third of the votes of the  
United States, aided by the intrigues of Southern  
Disunionists, as no justification for a thought of  
revolution. Elected under the forms of the Con-  
stitution, those who would resist, or defeat by force his  
inauguration, would commit the highest crime known  
to our laws."

Many eminent Southern men have used simi-  
lar language, and I do not see how honest men  
can do otherwise. Sir, what have the Republi-  
cans done to justify the hue and cry which has  
been raised about them all over the country?  
Nothing at all. In the exercise of our constitu-  
tional rights we have elected ABRAHAM LINCOLN

# National Republican

VOL. I. WASHINGTON, D. C., SATURDAY, MARCH 9, 1861. No. 86.

and HANNIBAL HAMLIN President and Vice Presi-  
dent of the United States. This we have done,  
and this is all we have done. I know it is said  
that our candidates embody principles which are  
destructive of Southern institutions. But if it  
were so—which I deny—what opportunity have  
we to carry them into practice? The Opposition  
have a majority of both Houses of Congress for  
two years to come, and in all that time we can-  
not pass a law—in fact, we cannot pass the ap-  
propriation bills to pay the expenses of the  
Government, without the aid of our political  
opponents. Two years hence they are as likely  
to elect a majority of this House as we are; but  
if they do not, they will still have a majority in  
the Senate the whole of Mr. Lincoln's term, and  
yet are told that his election is so full of dan-  
ger to them that numerous amendments must  
be made to the Constitution for their security,  
and made forthwith, or dissolution is inevi-  
table. Sir, I do not like the hot haste of these  
men in matters of so much moment. There is  
no necessity for it.

But we are told the Southern people are very  
much excited against the Republican party, and I  
presume they are, for our candidates and our  
principles have been all the subject of the  
vilest misrepresentations. Southern editors have  
written what they pleased about us, confident  
that no one would dare to defend us, and thus  
subject themselves to the fury of the mob. They  
have told the people that Mr. Lincoln would use  
all the power of the National Government to  
abolish slavery in the States, and wherever it ex-  
isted; that he was in favor of the social and po-  
litical equality of the negro; and other stories  
of a similar character, not one of which could  
be contradicted where they were published. A  
few weeks ago, a letter, purporting to be written  
by Mr. Lincoln to some person in Wheeling, and  
which was well calculated to inflame the public  
mind at the South, was published throughout  
Virginia, for the purpose, doubtless, of aiding  
the election of disunion delegates to their State  
Convention. The letter was an infamous forgery,  
but thousands of honest men at the South  
will never hear of it.

Southern gentlemen, too, of high position have  
assured the people that our Vice President, Mr.  
LAMAR, was a *mulatto*; and now, when they  
have succeeded by such means in exciting the  
people almost to madness, they call upon us to  
pacify them by a base surrender of our principles.  
The member from Texas [Mr. REAGAN] said, in a  
late speech, "To give us our rights is to disband  
the Republican party;" and a distinguished Sen-  
ator from the same State said, in substance,  
that if the Republicans would abandon their prin-  
ciples, and make *satisfactory* amendments to the  
Constitution, they might possibly save the Union.

Mr. Speaker, these ideas are not peculiar to  
the disunionists, but are embodied in nearly all  
the peace propositions, so-called, that have been  
submitted to Congress, and in the speeches of  
Southern gentlemen, which we hear almost daily.  
They bid us throw away our platform, and take  
theirs, (which was condemned by two-thirds of  
the voters of the United States in the late elec-  
tion,) and incorporate it into the Constitution!

Why not say that Northern freemen shall not  
vote at all, nor have any voice in determining  
the policy of our Government shall be, un-  
less their opinions are in harmony with Southern  
sentiments?

Sir, do these gentlemen from our Northern  
cliques who talk to us about restoring peace and  
harmony expect that we shall enjoy the right of  
suffrage hereafter, if we relinquish the rights  
growing out of it now? We have just elected a  
President, and the South threaten to dissolve  
the Union unless we submit to such terms as  
they think proper to impose. If we purchase  
peace at this time, and succeed in the elections  
four years hence, will not the defeated party,  
encouraged by their success now, rise again in  
rebellion, and demand the substitution of their  
policy for ours in the administration of the  
Government? Sir, we cannot do it without  
destroying all confidence in the power and sta-  
bility of the Government, and disgracing our-  
selves at home and abroad. Let all who love  
the Union rally around the new Administration,  
and thus preserve the National Government from  
threatened destruction. That is our first duty,  
and then, if any section of the country have any  
grievances to complain of, they should be re-  
dressed. But let us cling to the Government of  
our Fathers, the source of our prosperity and  
power, and the sheet-anchor of our liberties and  
rights.

The introduction of the question of slavery  
into politics is the source of all our troubles.  
For this, Southern politicians alone are respon-  
sible. By adroit appeals to the passions and  
prejudices of the people in their own section of  
the country they have succeeded in effecting a  
division of the Southern States, by means of which  
they hoped to retain the continued control of  
the National Government, and use all its power  
for the extension and protection of their favorite  
institution. They conceived the idea of making  
this a great slaveholding Republic, by the an-  
nexation of Mexico and Central America, and  
they believed that they would be able to control  
its policy, enjoy its patronage, and wield its  
whole power forever.

Mr. Speaker, I have no desire to discuss the  
question of slavery, but it seems impossible to  
avoid it. Every day, from the commencement of  
the session this subject has been thrust upon us  
to the exclusion of all other business, so far as  
possible. We have heard the same old stories  
about fugitive slaves—the higher law—the John  
Brown raid, and the late speeches of Phillips  
and Garrison, just as we are obliged to listen to  
some hand organ under our window, that  
grinds out the same old tunes yesterday, to-  
day, and forever. Sir, the policy of the Republi-  
can party is that of the founders of the Repub-  
lic, and the framers of the Constitution. They  
considered slavery an institution of the State,  
which was created and should be protected—  
if protected at all—by State legislation. The  
National Government have nothing to do with it,  
except to provide for the return of fugitives,  
and no more power to extend and protect  
than they have to abolish it. This was the  
policy of those who administered the Govern-  
ment for the first half century of its existence,  
and details to the contrary notwithstanding.  
The sagacious '76 looked upon slavery as a  
moral, social, and political evil, and believed it  
would gradually disappear under the influence  
of the great principles enunciated in the Revolu-  
tion. Not in a year or two was this to be  
accomplished, for it was so interwoven with  
the whole structure of society, that its sudden re-  
moval was impossible. In several of the States  
it was gradually abolished, but the introduction  
of the culture of cotton at the South increased  
the value of slaves and slave labor enormously,  
and in due time effected a change in the opinions  
of the people who were benefited by it. The  
judgment and the consciences of men are al-  
ways affected more or less by their interests;  
and while we may condemn our Southern  
brethren, there is no reason to believe that we  
should have done better under like circum-

stances. If, then, we are unlike them, we must  
admit that it is the result of early training, and  
of an education under different influences. I  
need not quote the opinions of the great states-  
men who lived in the early days of the Repub-  
lic, for all are familiar with them; but I must  
quote a passage from two later Southern  
authorities in reference to their opinions. From  
the report of a committee on negro labor to the  
Southern Commercial Convention at Vicksburg,  
Mississippi, in 1859, I take the following pas-  
sage: "When the Constitution of the United  
States was formed, our negro labor system was,  
in theory and practice, slavery, but its ultimate  
abolition was generally expected. The Constitu-  
tion itself bears evidence of this, and so do the  
public debates and private correspondence of  
that day." Mr. William L. Yancy, of Alabama,  
whose eloquence has glided treason itself in the  
eyes of thousands, in a speech delivered before  
the Southern Commercial Convention at Mont-  
gomery, in 1858, laments the influence of the  
opinions of the statesmen of the Revolution on  
the question of slavery, and said that "the old  
fogies of that day" entertained opinions in re-  
lation to slavery which we of this day are  
unanimously agreed are not sound." Further on  
he says: "The distinguished, venerable, prac-  
tical, and philosophical gentlemen from Virginia  
(Mr. Ruffin) knows that Mr. Jefferson was wrong  
in his ideas about slavery."

In the eloquent eulogy which Mr. PAVON de-  
livered during the last session of Congress, on  
the Hon. Wm. O. Goode, of Virginia, in alluding  
to the efforts made in that State in 1832 to se-  
cure the abolition of slavery, he says: "For the  
first time citizens of a slaveholding community  
were driven, by the apparent insecurity of the  
system, to explore its foundations, and with a  
result for which very few persons were prepared.  
In contradiction of traditional ideas it was dis-  
covered and demonstrated that negro slavery, in-  
stead of being an accidental evil which men tolerate  
merely for want of a practicable remedy, is an in-  
stitution which exists in virtue of the most essen-  
tial human interests and the highest sanctions of  
the moral law." It is not quite thirty years,  
then, since Southern statesmen discovered that  
slavery was not an evil, but a blessing. Mr.  
Speaker, they may be right, but we have failed  
to do so, and in the absence of all proof and  
argument, we think the weight of authority is in  
our favor.

Mr. Yancy, Mr. PAVON and Mr. ROYCE may  
disagree with those "old fogies," Jefferson, Mad-  
ison, Mason, and their associates, but we prefer  
"to follow in the footsteps" of the illustrious  
founders of the Republic, and our confidence in  
the wisdom and correctness of their opinions is  
confirmed by the concurrent sentiment of the  
whole civilized world. Sir, no lover of his coun-  
try can look upon the rapid increase of the slave  
population without alarm. In a few years more  
they will number twenty millions, and a large  
army will be necessary to keep them in sub-  
jection. We are told that this rapid increase in  
numbers is a proof that slavery is the best con-  
dition for the laborer, but the reverse is the fact.  
When society is highly cultivated and the com-  
forts of life are most generally diffused, popu-  
lation increases in a much slower ratio than it  
does among slaves or among the degraded deni-  
sons of the human race. It was with the children  
of Israel in Egypt—it is so here, and will be  
found so everywhere.

To me it seems the way in which God arms  
the victims of avarice and despotism against  
those who oppress them; thus enabling them,  
in time, to compel a redress of their grievances.  
Be that as it may, their rapid increase will,  
ere long, drive the South to the adoption of some  
plan for the removal of all free negroes, and  
possibly of a portion of their slaves. Its exten-  
sion over more territory will not change the  
result in the least. The South have more cotton  
lands now than fifty millions of slaves can cul-  
tivate, and long before they reach that number  
the whole system will be abolished by causes  
whose operation it will be impossible to resist.  
Southern writers are in the habit of comparing  
the condition of their slaves with that of the  
laborers and operatives of New England. They  
seem to imagine that these operatives are almost  
paupers, and that the condition of Southern  
slaves would be a wretched thing if it were not  
for the fact that they are not free. While we  
have no desire to increase slavery, and propose to  
obey all the provisions of the Constitution in its  
favor, Southern statesmen demand for it still  
greater privileges and stronger guarantees. They  
ask us to amend the Constitution so as to recog-  
nize property in slaves, and as the Constitution  
is the supreme law of the land, the effect of this  
would be to make slavery a national institution,  
and let those in whose territory it was not  
existing, then, do they offer for the almost om-  
nipotent power which they desire us to confer on  
their favorite institution? No one at all; not even  
peace, which we all desire so much; for, if that  
proposition were adopted, it would prepare the  
way for more serious troubles than those which  
afflict us now. The South would at once com-  
mence an agitation for the conquest of Mexico  
and Central America; and the persistent and  
united efforts of her statesmen, encouraged by  
their continual victories over Northern govern-  
ments and opinions, would finally prevail; and  
nothing but the force of natural laws or the

judgments of Heaven could save us from centuries  
of subjection to the power of slavery.

Sir, I will not believe that the American peo-  
ple will favor a measure that will be productive  
of such fatal results to freedom. Let me be con-  
sistent with the territory we now have. Let the  
disturbing element of slavery be disposed of in  
some way, to the satisfaction of the whole coun-  
try; or, if the South will not consent to that, let  
the people, let the whole world understand that  
they are ready to dissolve the Union, destroy the  
Government, and involve the country in a civil  
war, because we will not consent to seize Mexico for  
the benefit of slavery!

The committee of thirty-three propose to settle  
the question, so far as our present territory is  
concerned, by providing at once for the admis-  
sion of New Mexico as a State into the Union.  
Mr. Speaker, I know these gentlemen are actuated  
by patriotic motives; and I doubt not they feel  
convinced of the wisdom of their course; but I  
cannot give my vote in favor of this measure. I  
object to it for many reasons; but I will only  
mention one of them, since that is all sufficient—it  
does not promise to satisfy anybody. No concession  
we can make will satisfy the extreme South;  
while the border States, if they consent to remain  
in the Union on these terms, affix a condition  
that no attempt shall be made to retake our fort,  
collect the revenue, or enforce the laws of the  
United States. Want benefit, then, will re-  
sult to us from an adoption of this and other mea-  
sures recommended by the committee in their  
report?

Sir, I have no reason to hope for any, and  
therefore I shall oppose them all. I lament the  
difficulties by which we are surrounded as much  
as any one; but I do not believe this is the way  
to settle them, or that patching up a peace be-  
tween political parties in a manner unknown to  
the Constitution and the laws is likely to in-  
crease the respect of the people for the Govern-  
ment, or strengthen their belief in its ability to  
secure them in the enjoyment of their rights.  
This Government is necessarily established on  
the principle that the majority shall rule, and  
decide all questions in a manner prescribed by  
law; and if these decisions of the people, when  
legally expressed, are not to be enforced, then  
is our Government a failure, and Republi-  
can institutions an impossibility. Sir, if we  
at last for peace, we must enforce the laws, and  
in my opinion, there is no other way to secure it.

Mr. Speaker, some prominent politicians, or  
purposes of their own, propose us to break up  
our organization and discard our principles, as if  
they were a garment to be thrown off at  
leisure; and, as circumstances have changed  
since our election, they beg us to change also,  
that we may "save our country," and they as-  
sure us that we shall be rewarded by the  
plaudits of a grateful people, and the welcome  
on our return to our constituents of "Well  
done, good and faithful servant!" Sir, these  
men remind me of a story of Ethan Allen, who,  
when a prisoner in England, and offered a vic-  
toriously in the Colonies if he would "compro-  
mise" with the Crown, and betray the people  
and their cause, replied that he was reminded  
of the temptation of our Saviour by the devil,  
who offered him all the kingdoms of the world  
if he would fall down and worship him, while  
at the same time, said "God forbid," the devil  
did not own a foot of all the land he was so ready  
to give away. So with these imitators of his  
sable majesty, who would have us abandon our  
principles, and promise us the favor and ap-  
proval of the people—a reward which it is not  
in their power to bestow. Sir, I believe in the  
final perseverance of the saints, and that those  
only are rewarded who hold out faithful to the  
end in the political as well as the Christian  
arena, and when a man asks me to "serve my  
country" by betraying my constituents, I feel  
like crying, "Get thee behind me, Satan!"

Mr. Speaker, I know the people that I came  
to represent in the councils of the nation. I  
have been at their homes, and sat by their fire-  
sides, and enjoyed their hospitality, and I pro-  
mised them that I would stand by their privi-  
leges to the last, and God helping me, I NEVER  
WILL BETRAY MY TRUST!

I will agree to a National Convention, called  
according to the provisions of the Constitution,  
and let those in whose territory it was not  
existing, then, do they offer for the almost om-  
nipotent power which they desire us to confer on  
their favorite institution? No one at all; not even  
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country" by betraying my constituents, I feel  
like crying, "Get thee behind me, Satan!"

Mr. Speaker, I know the people that I came  
to represent in the councils of the nation. I  
have been at their homes, and sat by their fire-  
sides, and enjoyed their hospitality, and I pro-  
mised them that I would stand by their privi-  
leges to the last, and God helping me, I NEVER  
WILL BETRAY MY TRUST!

I will agree to a National Convention, called  
according to the provisions of the Constitution,  
and let those in whose territory it was not  
existing, then, do they offer for the almost om-  
nipotent power which they desire us to confer on  
their favorite institution? No one at all; not even  
peace, which we all desire so much; for, if that  
proposition were adopted, it would prepare the  
way for more serious troubles than those which  
afflict us now. The South would at once com-  
mence an agitation for the conquest of Mexico  
and Central America; and the persistent and  
united efforts of her statesmen, encouraged by  
their continual victories over Northern govern-  
ments and opinions, would finally prevail; and  
nothing but the force of natural laws or the

judgments of Heaven could save us from centuries  
of subjection to the power of slavery.

Sir, I will not believe that the American peo-  
ple will favor a measure that will be productive  
of such fatal results to freedom. Let me be con-  
sistent with the territory we now have. Let the  
disturbing element of slavery be disposed of in  
some way, to the satisfaction of the whole coun-  
try; or, if the South will not consent to that, let  
the people, let the whole world understand that  
they are ready to dissolve the Union, destroy the  
Government, and involve the country in a civil  
war, because we will not consent to seize Mexico for  
the benefit of slavery!

The committee of thirty-three propose to settle  
the question, so far as our present territory is  
concerned, by providing at once for the admis-  
sion of New Mexico as a State into the Union.  
Mr. Speaker, I know these gentlemen are actuated  
by patriotic motives; and I doubt not they feel  
convinced of the wisdom of their course; but I  
cannot give my vote in favor of this measure. I  
object to it for many reasons; but I will only  
mention one of them, since that is all sufficient—it  
does not promise to satisfy anybody. No concession  
we can make will satisfy the extreme South;  
while the border States, if they consent to remain  
in the Union on these terms, affix a condition  
that no attempt shall be made to retake our fort,  
collect the revenue, or enforce the laws of the  
United States. Want benefit, then, will re-  
sult to us from an adoption of this and other mea-  
sures recommended by the committee in their  
report?

Sir, I have no reason to hope for any, and  
therefore I shall oppose them all. I lament the  
difficulties by which we are surrounded as much  
as any one; but I do not believe this is the way  
to settle them, or that patching up a peace be-  
tween political parties in a manner unknown to  
the Constitution and the laws is likely to in-  
crease the respect of the people for the Govern-  
ment, or strengthen their belief in its ability to  
secure them in the enjoyment of their rights.  
This Government is necessarily established on  
the principle that the majority shall rule, and  
decide all questions in a manner prescribed by  
law; and if these decisions of the people, when  
legally expressed, are not to be enforced, then  
is our Government a failure, and Republi-  
can institutions an impossibility. Sir, if we  
at last for peace, we must enforce the laws, and  
in my opinion, there is no other way to secure it.

Mr. Speaker, some prominent politicians, or  
purposes of their own, propose us to break up  
our organization and discard our principles, as if  
they were a garment to be thrown off at  
leisure; and, as circumstances have changed  
since our election, they beg us to change also,  
that we may "save our country," and they as-  
sure us that we shall be rewarded by the  
plaudits of a grateful people, and the welcome  
on our return to our constituents of "Well  
done, good and faithful servant!" Sir, these  
men remind me of a story of Ethan Allen, who,  
when a prisoner in England, and offered a vic-  
toriously in the Colonies if he would "compro-  
mise" with the Crown, and betray the people  
and their cause, replied that he was reminded  
of the temptation of our Saviour by the devil,  
who offered him all the kingdoms of the world  
if he would fall down and worship him, while  
at the same time, said "God forbid," the devil  
did not own a foot of all the land he was so ready  
to give away. So with these imitators of his  
sable majesty, who would have us abandon our  
principles, and promise us the favor and ap-  
proval of the people—a reward which it is not  
in their power to bestow. Sir, I believe in the  
final perseverance of the saints, and that those  
only are rewarded who hold out faithful to the  
end in the political as well as the Christian  
arena, and when a man asks me to "serve my  
country" by betraying my constituents, I feel  
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who are struggling with such heroism against  
the insanity of the moment. Let us agree to  
refer this question to the people in general con-  
vention assembled, and abide by their decision.  
There is no ill-feeling at the North toward  
Southern men. We dislike slavery, and we  
hate it more than the enemies of the Union, and  
perils in which it has involved us now; but  
those who love the Union, South as well as  
North, are our brothers, and we would fight for  
their rights as freely as for our own. Sir, I  
believe there is patriotism enough, North and  
South, to save a Union. It cannot be that  
this master-piece of human wisdom is to perish  
now. There are good and true men in all sec-  
tions of the country, and if time be given for  
reflection their number will increase. I will not  
believe that Kentucky will desert the flag she  
has a hundred times defended with the best  
blood of her sons. She has furnished a hero  
for us in this hour of our extremity, whose  
manly deed has thrilled a nation's heart, and  
rouned the patriotism of a whole people. As  
Haman had no peace while Mordecai, the Jew,  
sat at the King's gate, so South Carolina, with  
her half million of a population, cannot rest  
while the gallant Kentuckian and his score or  
two of men sit in the gateway of the State in  
defiance of her power. Tennessee and the stripes  
float proudly over him, and will do so until  
that he would sacrifice his life to save them  
from dishonor. And Tennessee—we have heard  
her thunder-shout for the Union, and its echoes  
yet linger around us—will she consent to leave  
her sister States? I cannot believe it. I cannot  
believe she would be so forgetful of the warn-  
ings of the immortal Jackson, who foresaw  
this treasonable attempt to dissolve the Union,  
and denounced it as he died. There, too, in  
Missouri, this "secession" movement has  
become formidable in consequence of the treach-  
ery of those whom the people placed in power.  
Hereafter, Benedict Arnold can no longer occupy  
the foreground as the chief traitor in his coun-  
try's history. Let no man dispute the claim of  
James Buchanan to that high eminence of in-  
famy. After being the recipient of honors from  
his country for half a century, he ends his career  
by disgracing her abroad, and leaving her at  
home almost in ruins. The London Times  
says of his mission:

"Never, for many years, can the United States  
go to the world what they have been. Mr.  
Buchanan's message has been a greater blow to  
the American people than all the rants of the Georgian  
Governor, or the ordinances of the Charleston  
Convention. The President has dispirited the  
idea that the States which elected him constitute  
one people. We had thought the Federation was  
of the nature of a nationality—we find it is only  
a partnership."

After alluding to the expected secession of  
several States, the editor says:

"In a few days more the United States of Ameri-  
ca—as the world has hitherto known them—will  
cease to exist!"

Mr. Speaker, is this so? Must our national  
epitaph be written now? Will the American  
people consent to step down from the proud po-  
sition they have held among the nations of the  
earth for seventy years, and resign their power,  
confessing their inability to retain it? Never,  
sir, never. They have read the message with  
loathing for its author, as he attempts to pre-  
sent in defiance of reason and common sense, that a  
great nation, like these United States, has not—  
the lowest creature in the universe of God pos-  
sesses, always—the right to defend and preserve its  
own existence!

Mr. Speaker, civil war is an evil of awful ma-  
gnitude, and I pray God to preserve us from it,  
if it be possible. I hope it will be avoided, and  
I believe the new administration will be in no  
haste to shed blood, and recapture the fort, and  
will be exhausted first. But this Government  
must be maintained, and its power vindicated in  
the preservation of the Union and the enforce-  
ment of the laws. Florida and the Mississippi  
must be ours forever. Their purchase was a  
national necessity, and we cannot resign them  
now. This Capital, that bears the name of the  
Father of his Country, must remain the Capital  
of the United States. We must collect the  
revenue of the country, and recapture the fort,  
which we builded, and which were taken from  
us by treachery and violence. If we fail to do  
it, we admit the inability of men to govern  
themselves, and the impossibility of combining  
Republican freedom with national strength.

Sir, we cannot do this, for under such dam-  
ning disgrace we could not willingly live. We  
owe it to the heroes of the Revolution, to the  
founders of our Government—we owe it to lib-  
erty, to civilization, to humanity, to those who  
are struggling against tyranny in all other parts  
of the world, to maintain this Government, and preserve  
the Union to the last, let the consequences to ourselves  
be what they may. Sir, if we fail in this grand  
experiment of self-government, when can any  
people hope to succeed hereafter? Could we  
go to the battle-fields of the Revolution and call  
up their dead and buried heroes, and hear again  
the story of their hardships in the days that  
tried men's souls, and of the heroism and deeds  
of daring by which they won for themselves  
and their country a name, as they hoped, that  
should never die, could we stand in their pres-  
ence and calculate the value of the Union for  
which they paid so great a price? Call the  
roll of the princes of the people who led  
our fathers in the struggle for freedom—AD-  
AMS, HANCOCK, WARREN, PUTNAM, GANN,  
GAY, JEFFERSON, and MADISON, sages in coun-  
cil and heroes everywhere; PATR